
APPENDIX

A Select Chronology of Australian Involvement in the Vietnam War

1950	14 January	Ho Chi Minh declares Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
	7 February	United States and United Kingdom recognize the French-sponsored government of the former emperor, Bao Dai.
	8 February	Australia recognizes Bao Dai Government.
	9 March	Percy Spender, minister of external affairs, speaks of the domino theory in the House of Representatives.
	8 May	United States provides \$10 million in military and economic aid to the Bao Dai Government.
1951		ANZUS treaty signed.
1953		Jean Letourneau, French Minister in charge of Indochinese matters, invited to visit Australia to discuss aid.
1954		John Foster Dulles, U.S. secretary of state, encourages "united action" during the Indochina crisis.
	7 May	Battle of Dien Bien Phu lost by the French and Bao Dai forces.
	8 September	South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) formed with initial signatories: United States, United Kingdom, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines.
	9 October	France leaves Hanoi.
1955		United States provides aid directly to Saigon; Australia sends troops to aid in Malayan Emergency.

1957	May	Ngo Dinh Diem, president of South Vietnam, visits United States.
	September	Ngo Dinh Diem visits Australia.
1960	20 December	National Liberation Front (NLF) is founded by Hanoi for the liberation of South Vietnam.
1961		Laotian crisis.
		Indonesia incorporates former Dutch West New Guinea colony as Irian Jaya.
	17 November	United States seeks diplomatic indications of Australia's stance on, and willingness to assist in, South Vietnam.
1962		Very Low Frequency "joint" U.S.-Australian naval communications station established at North West Cape, Western Australia.
	13 January	Operation Ranch Hand (defoliation) begins.
	24 May	Athol Townley, Minister of Defence, announces that thirty advisers are to be sent to South Vietnam.
	July-August	First AATTV personnel arrive in South Vietnam.
1963		Malaysia formed.
		Indonesia declares Confrontation with Malaysia.
	1 June	William Francis Hacking, an adviser, is the first Australian casualty, killed forty miles west of Hue.
		15,000 U.S. advisers in South Vietnam; U.S. gives \$500 million in aid.
1964		83 Australian advisers committed to the Republic of Vietnam.
	June	Robert Menzies, Australian prime minister, visits Washington, D.C.
		AATTV members committed to active service.
	2 August	USS <i>Maddox</i> incident in the Gulf of Tonkin.
	4 August	USS <i>Turner Joy</i> incident.
	7 August	U.S. Congress passes Tonkin Gulf Resolution.
	10 November	National Service (Conscription) Act proclaimed.

1965	January	Agent Orange first used.
	March	U.S. Marines land at Da Nang.
	29 April	Menzies announces the commitment of Australian combat troops.
	May-June	1st Battalion, RAR (800 men), arrives in Bien Hoa to operate with the U.S. 173rd Airborne Brigade (Separate).
		U.S. troop commitment surpasses 50,000.
	13 May	Save Our Sons (SOS) founded.
	23–24 July	First Australian “teach-in” on Vietnam at the Australian National University, Canberra.
	September	Morgan Gallup Poll: 56 percent of Australians in favor of Australian participation, 28 percent in favor of withdrawal, 10 percent are undecided.
1966	22 October	First arrests (65 people) for antiwar demonstration in Sydney.
	26 January	Harold Holt succeeds Menzies as prime minister and leader of the Liberal Party.
	8 March	Government announces troop increase: two battalions and supporting units, and the Special Air Services, to be sent to Phuoc Tuy Province—a total of 4,500 men, including 500 conscripts.
	16 March	2,000 march in protest against the war organized by the SOS group.
	May	Seamen’s Union refuses to load supplies for Vietnam on the <i>Boonaroo</i> .
	24 May	Errol Wayne Noack (first conscript) killed in action.
	14 June	5th and 6th Battalions, RAR, and supports in place at Nui Dat, with logistic support base at Vung Tau, 16 miles south.
	21 June	Attempted assassination of Arthur Calwell, leader of the Opposition, after an antiwar demonstration in Sydney.
	30 June	Holt visits Washington, D.C., and utters in a speech the famous “all the way” in support of Lyndon Johnson’s Vietnam policy.
	18 August	Battle of Long Tan: Australia loses 18 killed, claims 245 Vietnamese killed.

	September	Arrest of schoolteacher William White, a conscientious objector.
	21–22 October	Lyndon Johnson visits Australia. A million Sydney-siders and 500,000 in Melbourne line the streets to welcome him on successive days.
	19 November	Morgan Gallup Poll: 68 percent in favor of conscription; 37 percent in favor of sending conscripts to Vietnam.
1967	8 February	E. G. "Gough" Whitlam succeeds Arthur Calwell as Opposition leader.
	May	Morgan Gallup Poll: 62 percent in favor of the war, 24 percent in favor of Australian withdrawal, and 14 percent are undecided.
	2 October	Teach-in titled "National Forum on Vietnam" held at Monash University, Melbourne.
	17 November	Holt missing presumed drowned. John McEwan (Country Party—the Liberals' coalition partner) temporarily becomes prime minister on 19 December.
	November-December	Australian troop commitment peaks at 8,300.
1968		Australian Draft Resister's Union established.
	10 January	John Grey Gorton, Liberal Party leader, becomes prime minister.
	31 January	Tet Offensive begins.
	12 February	Gorton announces semiofficially that there will be no increase in Australian commitment.
	16 March	My Lai massacre occurs but remains unknown until 16 November.
	May	National Services Act amended to impose two-year civil jail term for draft evaders.
	August	Paris student riots.
1969	June	President Richard Nixon announces withdrawal of 250,000 U.S. troops and the initiation of "Vietnamization."
	August	Morgan Gallup Poll: 55 percent in favor of with-

		drawal, 40 percent for continuing the war, and 6 percent are undecided.
	3 September	Ho Chi Minh dies at age 79.
	4 October	U.S. Morgan Poll: 58 percent believe the war is a mistake.
	15 October	Massive antiwar demonstration occurs in Washington, D.C.
1970	22 April	Government announces one battalion to be withdrawn.
	4 May	Kent State shootings in Ohio.
	8 May	Approximately 120,000 march in the first Moratorium March in Sydney; approximately 70,000 march in Melbourne.
	18 September	Second Moratorium Marches in Sydney (100,000) and Melbourne (50,000). More than 300 arrested.
1971	10 March	William McMahon succeeds as Liberal Prime Minister.
	30 March	1,000 men withdrawn.
	30 June	110,000 participate in third and final large antiwar march.
	18 August	McMahon announces that most troops will be home by Christmas.
	17 December	Last major troop withdrawal.
1972	2 December	Australian Labor Party wins. Whitlam becomes prime minister-elect.
	5 December	National service ended; imprisoned draft resisters released.
	8 December	Last Australian troops leave Vietnam.
	18 December	Last Advisers leave. Nixon renews bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong.
1973	23 January	Nixon announces "peace with honor."
	27 January	Cease fire initiated.
	26 February	Whitlam announces establishment of diplomatic relations with Hanoi, but continues diplomatic recognition of South Vietnam.

	29 March	Last American troops leave Vietnam.
1974	4 January	South Vietnam's Pres. Nguyen Van Thieu announces that war has been declared again.
1975	17 April	Phnom Penh falls to Khmer Rouge.
	25 April	Australian embassy in Saigon is closed.
	30 April	Fall of Saigon.
	December	Malcolm Fraser, Liberal leader, wins election. 1,000 Indochinese refugees resettled in Australia.
1976	April	First Vietnamese "boat people" arrive in Australia.
1978		Fraser government introduces refugee component into immigration program.
1982		Arrival of the first Vietnamese migrants under the Orderly Departure Programme. Vietnam Veterans Counselling Service established.
1983	June	4,000 U.S. veterans begin class-action suit in New York State against the manufacturer of Agent Orange. Justice Philip Evatt charged with the Royal Commission to investigate the mortality of veterans.
1984		AVHS mortality report published.
1985	July	Evatt Royal Commission declares Agent Orange "Not Guilty"; Vietnam Veterans Association rejects findings.
1987	4 October	25,000 March in Sydney Welcome Home March.
1989	July	At the Geneva Conference on refugees, Australia votes with ASEAN nations for the mandatory repatriation of Vietnamese refugees. Australia is committed to resettle 11,000 people during 1989-1992.
	June-July	First Cambodian boat people arrive in Australia.

- 1990 Two more Cambodian boats arrive.
- 1992 3 October Dedication of the Australian Vietnam Forces National Memorial, Anzac Parade, Canberra; 30,000 veterans march, watched by a crowd of about 30,000

NOTES

Introduction

1. For examples of these government reflections, see Desmond Ball, "The Official History of Vietnam and its Critics," *Quadrant* 37, no. 11 (Nov., 1993): 40–44; and Gregory Pemberton, "The Vietnam War and its Supporters," *Quadrant* 8, no. 4 (Apr., 1994): 51–52.
2. A corrective and more thoroughly documented version of the actual qualities of Australian horsemen in the Boer War can be found in the various essays in Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey, eds., *The Boer War: Army, Nation and Empire*, 1999, *Chief of Army/Australian War Memorial Military History Conference* (Canberra: Army History Unit, 2000). Notwithstanding the "history," the popular view of Australians in the Boer War through such "personalities" as poet/soldier Breaker Morant contributed to the developing legends of Australian fighting prowess and indiscipline.
3. This should be pronounced with a hard ess, as in "Ozzie," rather than as it so often is in the United States with a soft ess, as in "Ossie." Contraction is a favorite word creation device with Australians and has worked to minimize even Aussie, so that the hard ess gives rise to the identification of Australia as "Oz."
4. Until very recently, Korea has been *the* "forgotten war" despite what Vietnam veterans argue. For some analysis of the lapse of memory, nostalgia, and the history of the forgotten war see Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey, eds., *The Korean War 1950–53: A 50 Year Retrospective. The Chief of Army's History Conference 2000* (Canberra: Army History Unit, 2000), particularly Jeff Doyle, "Another Forgotten War Remembered," 179–99. In the volumes *Vietnam Days* (1991) and *Vietnam: War, Myth, and Memory* (1992), Peter Pierce, Jeffrey Grey, and Jeff Doyle address the issues of Vietnam and memory.

Chapter 1

1. This chapter summarizes some of the principal themes of Peter Edwards, *Crises and Commitments: The Politics and Diplomacy of Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts, 1948–1965*, the first volume of the official history of Australia's involvement in the Malayan Emergency, the Malaysian-Indonesian Confrontation, and the Vietnam War. In this chapter sources will be given only for direct quotations. The full references for the other material cited can be found in that volume.
2. Minute, Sir John Bunting to Sir Robert Menzies (quoting advice from Plimsoll), 13 Apr. 1965, CRS A1209, 65/6365.
3. Francis Stuart, *Towards Coming of Age: A Foreign Service Odyssey* (Nathan, Queensland: Centre for the Study of Australian-Asian Relations, Griffith University, 1989), 143.
4. The different spelling of *Labor* and *Labour* noted here between political parties of apparently similar persuasions rests with the Australian party's decision to use the spelling to differentiate, perhaps even distance itself, from other such parties.
5. See the coverage of this visit in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17–26 Apr. 1950.
6. Cabinet decision 241, 15 May 1962, CRS A494011, C4643, pt. 1.
7. *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, H of R vol. 43, 13 Aug. 1964, 194.
8. *Melbourne Herald*, 12 May 1962.
9. Cabinet decision 204, 1 May 1962, CRS 4940/1, C3568.

10. C.V. Wedgwood, *William the Silent* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), 35.
11. Message, McEwen to Harold Wilson (with cover letter from Lawler to Oliver), 19 Jan. 1965, CRS A4940/1, C1473, pt. 2.

Chapter 2

The author wishes to thank Ashley Ekins and Col. David Chinn (Ret.) for their research assistance.

1. Robert J. O'Neill, *Australia in the Korean War, 1950–1953*, vol. 1, *Strategy and Diplomacy* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial and Australian Government Publishing Service, 1981), 404.
2. *Ibid.*, 21.
3. "Defence Policy, The Vote and The Programme," D.P.C. Agendum no. 31, 28 Jan. 1954, AHQ file 23/441/55.
4. Other member nations were Great Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines.
5. Carlyle A. Thayer, *War By Other Means: National Liberation and Revolution in Viet Nam 1954–1960*, 192.
6. Estimates of the number killed have varied between 10,000 and 15,000, with a further 100,000 deported or imprisoned (many of whom were later released). See Joseph Buttinger, *Vietnam: A Dragon Embattled* (New York: Praeger, 1967), 912, 914, 974. A more recent source puts the number executed at closer to 5,000 (Thayer, *War By Other Means*, 93).
7. Le Duan, *Letters to the South* (Hanoi: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1986), 27.
8. Buttinger, *Vietnam*, 975. Buttinger is unable to estimate the number killed, but believes the official figures of 20,000 to 30,000 put into concentration camps were too low (*ibid.*, 977).
9. Thayer, *War By Other Means*, 161.
10. Binh Gia Hinh Nam Bo, Communist Party paper, c. 1960, 32, as quoted in Thayer, *War By Other Means*, 192.
11. Jeffrey Race, *War Comes to Long An: Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 122.
12. Cabinet Decision no. 654, Feb., 1957.
13. For a full account see J. C. Blaxland, *Organising an Army: The Australian Experience, 1957–1965*.
14. Cabinet Decision no. 451 (FAD), 3 Sept. 1964.
15. Cabinet Decision no. 596, 5 Nov. 1964.
16. "AHQ Training Directive for 1963/64 and 1964/65," ARO 25/62, 21 Dec. 1962, Army Office Secretariat, Army Office.
17. AHQ letter 846-R1-1, 16 May 1963, Army file 846-R1-1, Army Office.
18. AHQ file A810-R1-13(1), Army Office.
19. The history of this force is contained in Ian McNeill, *The Team: Australian Army Advisers in Vietnam, 1962–1972*.
20. J. K. Waller, Australian ambassador, Washington, to Acting Minister for External Affairs, cable 3365, 4 Dec. 1964, AWM 121, DMO&P file 161/A/2.
21. The referenced cable actually stated "one division OR two battalions of American marines." In JPC Report no. 110/64, 11 Dec. 1964, AWM 121, DMO&P file 161/A/2 the assumption is stated that "or" should read 'and'. Later correspondence indicates that "and" was correct.
22. Waller to Acting Minister for External Affairs.

23. Comments by Wilton and senior staff on minute from Secretary for Defence to the Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee, and the Service Chiefs, 7 Dec. 1964, enclosing cables from Waller and Long, AWM 121, DMO&P file 161/A/2.
24. National Intelligence Board Report, Oct., 1964, summarized in *The Pentagon Papers: The Defense Department History of United States Decisionmaking on Vietnam*, Senator Gravel ed., vol. 3 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 425.
25. Joint Intelligence Committee Report 3/1964, 21 Oct. 1964, 2; and Joint Planning Committee Report 110/1964, 11 Dec. 1964, 3, both in AWM 121, DMO&P file 161/A/2.
26. NSC Working Group on Vietnam, "Section 1: Intelligence Assessment: The Situation in Vietnam," 24 Nov. 1964. The assessment observed that "the tactical direction of VC efforts is in effect provided by North Vietnamese officers on detachment to the South—consequently any orders from Hanoi would in large measure be obeyed by the forces in South Vietnam" (Document 240, *Pentagon Papers*, 653).
27. NSC Working Group on Vietnam, "Section 1."
28. CIA-DIA Memo, "An Assessment of Present VC Military Capabilities," 21 Apr. 1965, *Pentagon Papers*, 438; Adm. U.S. G. Sharp and Gen. W. C. Westmoreland, *Report on the War in Vietnam (As of June 1968)* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1969), 95; Gen. W. C. Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 105; Lt. Gen. P. B. Davidson, *Vietnam at War: The History, 1946–1975* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1988), 324, 325.
29. Davidson, *Vietnam at War*, 324.
30. Race, *War Comes to Long An*, 108.
31. Brigadier O. D. Jackson, interview, 9 Mar. 1972, Sydney, 27, AWM 107, AHQ file 707/R2/39.
32. "Aid to South Vietnam," Joint Planning Committee Report no. 110/64, 11 Dec. 1964. The committee was required to consider, in conjunction with the Joint Intelligence Committee, both an anticipated American request for two hundred advisers and the question of stationing ground forces near the DMZ. See JPC Addendum no. 172/1964, 9 Dec. 1964, AWM 121, DMO & P file 161/A/2.
33. Revised paper by William Bundy and J. McNaughton, "Summary: Courses of Action in Southeast Asia," 26 Nov. 1964, *Pentagon Papers*, 656; Robert S. McNamara, "United States Policy in Vietnam," in Department of State Bulletin, 13 Apr. 1964, *Pentagon Papers*, 713.
34. McNamara, "United States Policy in Vietnam," 713.
35. Ibid.
36. Pham Van Dong, "Report to the Second Session of the Third National Assembly," 8 Apr. 1965, in *Selected Writings* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1977), 144; Le Duan, "Excerpt from the Report of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1960 in Moscow to the Third Session of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee in December 1960," in *Selected Writings*, 17.
37. Paul M. Kattenburg repeated a widely accepted view when he wrote that the communist leadership during the Vietnam War "survived and won out largely because, from the start, it draped itself in the mantle and championed the cause of Vietnamese nationalism" ("The U.S. and Indochina: Then and Now," *Australian Outlook* 42, no. 2 [Aug., 1988]: 88).
38. Le Duan, "Excerpt from the Report," 14 (quotation), 25; Le Duan, *Letters to the South*, 25; Pham Van Dong, "Excerpts from the Report to the 6th Session of the National Assembly, 29 April 1963," in *Selected Writings*, 70; Pham Van Dong, "Report to the Second Session," 92, 147–50; Ho Chi Minh, *Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1979), 149, 154.

39. Pham Van Dong, "Report to the Second Session," 148.
40. Le Duan, "Excerpt from the speech delivered to the 9th session of the Vietnam Workers' Party Central Committee held in December 1963," in *Selected Writings*, 158–60. North Vietnam's solidarity with China and the Soviet Union, certainly at the time of writing in 1963, seemed not to be affected by the 1961 Sino-Soviet rift.
41. *Ibid.*, 158.
42. The "lips and teeth" expression was used commonly at the time. Examples of the analogy are found in Pham Van Dong, "Report to the Second Session," 85; and Le Duan, "Excerpt from the speech," 159. Chinese utterances are found in Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, reproduced in *The People of Vietnam Will Triumph! U.S. Aggressors Will Be Defeated* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1965); and "Resolution of the Third National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China adopted 20 Apr. 1965," *ibid.*, copies with Official History (OHU) papers in the Australian War Memorial.
43. McNamara, "United States Policy in Vietnam," 713. Pham Van Dong, "Report to the Second Session," 150. See also Le Duan, *Letters to the South*, 20.
44. "Military Assistance to South Vietnam," Defence Committee Minute no. 37/1964, 21 May 1964, 4. AWM121, DMO&P file 161/A/2.
45. As a token and somewhat reluctant gesture, but to provide some positive response, an additional seventeen advisers were offered to bring the total strength of AATTV to one hundred.
46. Vo Nguyen Giap, *Big Victory, Great Task* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1968), 5–7. Local communist historians Pham Ngoc Danh, Tran Quang Toai, Dong Nai saw the battle similarly. See *30 Years War of Liberation, 1945–1975*, Executive Committee of the Dong Nai Province Branch of the Communist Party of Vietnam (Hanoi: Dong Nai Publishing House, 1986), 26. "Special war" was the terminology given by the Communists to the warfare waged by the RVN with US advisers before the introduction of US and allied combat forces.
47. Westmoreland, *Soldier Reports*, 110.
48. Cabinet Decision no. 659 (FAD), 17 Dec. 1964. Defence file 248/4/100 TS 1752, Department of Defence.
49. Prime Minister to President Johnson, 18 Dec. 1964, Defence file 248/4/100, TS 1752, Department of Defence.
50. Sharp and Westmoreland, *Report on the War in Vietnam*, 95.
51. J. Shulimson and C. M. Johnson, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam: The Landing and the Buildup, 1965* (Washington, D.C.: History and Museums Division, USMC, 1978), 4, 6.
52. *Ibid.*, 7.
53. Republic of Vietnam armed forces were responsible for the defense of the air bases, but their effort was found to be inadequate and uncoordinated (Roger P. Fox, *Air Base Defense in the Republic of Vietnam, 1961–1973* [Washington D.C.: Office of Air Force History, 1979], 16). For a discussion of the measures that led the United States into assuming the responsibility for defense of the major air bases, see 11–23.
54. The initial role was "to occupy and defend critical terrain features in order to secure the airfield and, as directed, communications facilities, U.S. supporting installations, port facilities, landing beaches and other U.S. installations against attack. The U.S. Marine force will not, repeat will not, engage in day to day actions against the Viet Cong" ("Marine Combat Units Go To Da Nang," *Pentagon Papers*, 417).
55. The marine force was the 9th Marine Expeditionary Brigade (9th MEB). It initially consisted of two battalion landing teams (BLTs) built around the 1st Battalion, 9th Marines (BLT 1/9), and 3rd Battalion, 9th Marines (BLT 3/9). Battalion

landing teams were a combined-arms team composed of an infantry battalion with a battery of artillery, tanks, trucks, amphibian tractors, and engineers and other support—about 1,500 men. The 1st Battalion, 3rd Marines (1/3), based on Okinawa, replaced BLT 1/9 for the deployment to Da Nang. Thus the first two infantry battalions to move to Da Nang were 1/3 (by air) and 3/9 (by sea). The total strength of the initial Marine force at Da Nang was almost 5,000 troops. Brigadier General Frederick J. Karch commanded the brigade. By December, 1965, the Marine ground contingent in South Vietnam numbered more than 38,000 men, all assigned to Maj. Gen. Lewis W. Walt's III Marine Amphibious Force (Shulimson and Johnson, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam*, xi, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15).

56. "Marine Combat Units Go To Da Nang, March 1965," *Pentagon Papers*, 417.
57. Australian Embassy, Washington, to Defence Department, Canberra, message WA 63, 6 May 1965, Defence file 248/4/114, TS 1794, Department of Defence. Douglas Pike, a leading American historian of the Vietnam War, comes to similar conclusions. He claims that the most important point to make about the American formulation of strategy is that the nation first committed itself to the war and then began to think about it comprehensively ("Conduct of the Vietnam War: Strategic Factors, 1965–1968," in *Second Indochina War Symposium: Papers and Commentary*, ed. John Schlight [Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1986], 112). Pike also maintains that Hanoi's leaders did not have a clear understanding, either. For grand strategy it substituted a "blind, implacable faith in its cause to which it clung tenaciously" (*ibid.*, 119 n 9).
58. External Affairs to Australian Embassy, Washington, cable no. 883, 9 Apr. 1965, 2, Defence file 248/4/111, TS 1784, Department of Defence.
59. Sir Robert Menzies, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, H of R, 29 Apr. 1985, 1060, 1061.
60. "Further Military Assistance to South Vietnam," Defence Committee Minute 15/1965 of meeting on 5 Apr. 1965, dated 6 Apr. 1965, AWM 121, DMO&P file 161/A/3.
61. J. Plimsoll, Minute, 28 Apr. 1965, Defence file 248/4/111, TS 1784, Department of Defence. This episode, its likely causes, and its ramifications were analyzed by the Australian official historian, Peter Edwards, in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June 1989, 19.
62. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June 1989, 19.
63. "Strategic Basis of Australian Defence Policy," Defence Committee Minute no. 75/1964, 16 Oct. 1964, AWM 121, DMO&P 11/A/2.
64. As a matter of military prudence, SEATO contingency plans provided for the advent of military aggression by China.
65. "Strategic Basis of Australian Defence Policy," para. 37.
66. "Notes for the Minister for Defence," Defence file 248/4/116, TS 1796, Department of Defence.
67. Arthur Calwell, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, H of R, 4–26 May 1965, 1103, 1105.
68. AAFV Quarterly Report to 30 Sept. 1965, 6, AHQ file 723/R5/18, Army Office. An additional five Australian journalists flew to Vietnam.
69. "A Troopship Leaving Sydney," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 May 1965, 2.
70. Le Duan, "To Comrade Xuan," May, 1965, in *Letters to the South*, 27. Xuan was secretary of the Central Office South Vietnam (COSVN).
71. Gen. Sir John Wilton, interview, 9, 13, and 14 Sept. 1976, Canberra, 16; Lt. Gen. Sir Thomas Daly, interview, 22 Nov. 1974 and 4 June 1975, Sydney, 12, AWM 107; Lt. Gen. Sir John Wilton, CGS, to Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Scherger, CCOSC, Minute CGS 126/1965, 20 July 1965, AWM 121, DMO&P file 161/A/4.

72. The only exception to this occurred with the formation of self-contained battle groups during the four years of the Pentropic organization.
73. Lt. Gen. Sir John Wilton, CGS, to Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Scherger, CCOSC, CGS 57/1965, 25 Mar. 1965, AWM 121, DMO&P file 161/A/3.
74. Wilton to Scherger, 20 July 1965; Wilton interview.
75. Wilton to Scherger, 20 July 1965.
76. Minute no. 6/1966 by the Defence Committee at a meeting on 10 Feb. 1966, "South Vietnam—Australian Military Assistance," 13, Defence file 248–4–145, AWM 121.
77. Such requirements included withdrawing from what Australian commanders might consider to be foolhardy or ill-considered operations ordered by the U.S. command, and not being involved in operations that closed on or crossed international boundaries.
78. Wilton interview.
79. A listing of the criteria for the selection of a province and the base area within the province is contained in Ian McNeill, "An Outline of the Australian Military Involvement in Vietnam July 1962–December 1972," *Defence Force Journal*, Sept.–Oct., 1980, 42–53.
80. In November, 1965, the port of Saigon had a three-week backlog of shipping. The U.S. secretary of defense, Robert S. McNamara, after a visit to Saigon that month, described the logistic problems being faced by American troops in Vietnam as "massive." During recent fighting in one area, the near exhaustion of fuel supplies was a major factor in forcing American troops to ease off their pressure on the enemy (Australian Embassy, Washington, to Foreign Affairs, cable 8653, 30 Nov. 1965, Defence file 248/4/138).
81. The following sources were used for evidence concerning the selection of Phuoc Tuy Province: Brigadier Mackay to CGS, "Report on Visit to South Vietnam by DMO&P," 27 Dec. 1965, AWM 121, DMO&P file 161/A/5; Presentation by Maj. Gen. K. Mackay at CGS Exercise, 1971, 11, 12, AWM 101 (10); Wilton interview, 24–26; Maj. Gen. K. Mackay, interviews, 8 Mar. 1972, 10–13, and 9 Oct. 1987, AWM 107; Jackson interview, 9 Mar. 1972, 44, 45. As commander of Australian forces in Vietnam in 1965, Jackson states that General Walt, commander of the III Marine Amphibious Force based at Da Nang in northern I Corps, asked that the Australian Task Force join the marines. Although Walt seemed enthusiastic, the suggestion did not appear to receive serious consideration.
82. The Long Dat provincial committee in former Phuoc Tuy Province in 1988 consisted mostly of former Vietcong. When interviewed by the author they said this assessment was about correct except that the divisional headquarters was not formed until May, 1967.
83. This last proposal, put forward by the defense minister, was not put into effect. The AATTV was fully integrated into the American advisory system and deployed principally in I Corps. In the years that followed, some argued that more of the team should be deployed in Phuoc Tuy Province under the command of the task force. No major move into Phuoc Tuy occurred until the closing stages of the task force's presence, although the team was spread over the whole of South Vietnam. Even when members moved into Phuoc Tuy, they were not placed under task force command or "embodied" into the task force (McNeill, *The Team*, app.: "Australian Army Training Team Vietnam—Moves to Concentrate Team in Phuoc Tuy"). The Caribou were under command of the U.S. 834th Air Division and were used throughout South Vietnam on transport and resupply missions. It would have been wasteful to place them under task force command, especially as resupply from the Australian logistics base at Vung Tau and the task force base in Phuoc Tuy was only twenty miles by road.
84. Cabinet Decision no. 60, 2 Mar. 1966, AWM 121, Defence file 248/4/145.

85. Ibid.
86. Jackson interview, 9 Mar. 1972, 45–51; presentation by Brigadier Jackson to CGS Exercise 1971, AWM.
87. Jackson to CGS Exercise 1971.
88. Wilton interview, 26, 27.
89. Lt. Gen. Sir John Wilton to Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Scherger, CGS Minute no. 39/1966, 21 Mar. 1966, AWM 121, DMO&P file 161/A/6.
90. Frank Frost, *Australia's War in Vietnam*, 181, 71, 182 (in order of quotations).
91. Ibid., 181, 182.
92. Ibid., 65.
93. Ibid.
94. Greg Lockhart, "Fear and Dependence: Australia's Vietnam Policy, 1965–1985," 21.
95. Greg Lockhart, "Into Battle: Counter Revolution," 38–59.
96. Maj. Gen. C. M. I. Pearson to OHU, 20 Apr. 1990, OHU papers.
97. Ibid.
98. Maj. Gen. C. M. I. Pearson, interview, 7 Apr. 1972, Canberra, 23, AWM 107.
99. Pearson to OHU, 20 Apr. 1990.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Brigadier R. L. Hughes, interview, 24 Mar. 1972, Canberra, AWM 107.
103. Presentation by Brigadier O. D. Jackson to CGS Exercise 1971, AWM101 (10).
104. Mackay, interview, 8 Mar. 1972, 23, 25.
105. Lt. Col. R. R. Hannigan (former GSO2 [Ops], to Brigadier Jackson), interview, 20 Sept. 1989, Sydney, 37, OHU papers.
106. Ibid., 38.
107. Jackson to CGS Exercise 1971, AWM101 (10).
108. Lockhart, "Into Battle," 57.
109. Robert J. O'Neill, *Vietnam Task: The 5th Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment, 1966–67*.
110. Ibid., 181, 182.
111. Capt. R. J. O'Neill, "An Analysis of the Operational Experience of 5 RAR in Vietnam May–Dec 1966," 4 Jan. 1967, copy in OHU papers.
112. D. M. Horner, *Australian Higher Command in the Vietnam War*, 76.
113. Ibid., 79.
114. Lt. Gen. T. J. Daly, CGS 44/1967, 6 Mar. 1967, AHQ file 569/R4/43, Department of Defence.
115. Pearson to OHU, 20 Apr. 1990.
116. There was also a battalion in Malaysia.
117. As occurred during a briefing of Westmoreland at the task force base at Nui Dat in early 1967. Westmoreland was obviously impatient and irritated by the methodical extension of the secure area and separation of the guerrillas from the population favored by Jackson rather than aggressively pursuing the main force in depth (Lt. Col. A.W. Piper [GSO2 (Int)] to Brigadier O. D. Jackson), interview, 26 Feb. 1990, Canberra, 5, OHU papers).
118. One writer suggests Wilton was "timid," but this does not take into account the extent of Wilton's determination and the strength of his convictions (Horner, *Australian Higher Command in the Vietnam War*, 72).

119. Wilton interview, 30.
120. Maj. Gen. D. Vincent to Lt. Gen. T. J. Daly, 15 July 1967, AWM 101 (24), box 3. Vincent was COMAFV after Mackay.
121. Wilton interview, 34.
122. Frank Frost, "Conflict and Withdrawal, 1968–1972," 109.
123. Maj. Gen. D. B. Dunstan, interview, 4 Oct. 1973, Canberra, AWM 107.
124. Frost, "Conflict and Withdrawal."
125. Dunstan interview, 11.
126. Ibid.
127. Lt. Col. Nguyen Duc Thu, interview, 20 June 1988, Long Dat, Vietnam, OHU papers.
128. See Jane Ross, "Australia's Legacy: The Vietnam Veterans," 187–213.
129. Little has been written on the roles of either the RAAF or the RAN in Vietnam, although the balance lies with the air force. This addendum is drawn from what in the main there is: Jeffrey Grey, *Up Top: The Royal Australian Navy and Southeast Asian Conflicts, 1955–1972*; Chris Coulthard-Clark, *The RAAF in Vietnam: Australian Air Involvement in the Vietnam War, 1962–1975*; and Alan Stephens, *Going Solo: The Royal Australian Air Force 1946–1971*.

Chapter 3

The literature on anti-Vietnam War activism in Australia is in some areas fairly extensive, although varied in both quality and focus. The bibliography in this volume will guide the interested reader to relevant items. Here I have been content to provide specific references only for specific points or quotations within the text. By way of contrast, Peter Pierce argues in chapter 4 for a dearth of relevant material in the more literary genres.

1. See, for example, Bobbie Oliver, *Peacemongers: Conscientious Objectors to Military Service in Australia, 1911–1945* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1997); and Hugh Smith, "Conscience, Law and the State: Australia's Approach to Conscientious Objection since 1901," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 35, no. 1 (1989): 13–28.
2. The literature on conscription in the First World War is extensive. See F. B. Smith, *The Conscription Plebiscites in Australia, 1916–1917* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966); and L. L. Robson, *The First AIF: A Study of Its Recruitment* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1970).
3. Stuart Macintyre, *The Reds: The Communist Party of Australia from Origins to Illegality* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1998).
4. His arguments are developed at length in Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*, especially chaps. 15, 18, and 19.
5. See Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
6. For a discussion of the rise and decline of the Moratoriums, see Peter Edwards, *A Nation at War: Australian Politics, Society and Diplomacy during the Vietnam War, 1965–1975*, chaps. 12–14.
7. Ann Curthoys makes the point that the timing of demonstrations was increasingly coordinated with those in the United States after 1967 ("The Anti-War Movements," 93).
8. This is not to imply that the media by itself had a war-winning—or war-losing—impact on middle America, as some right-wing critics profess to believe. The issue of media impact is much more complex than much of this analysis allows, and most of its assertions have not been tested and probably cannot be proved in any case.

9. Kim Beazley, "Federal Labor and the Vietnam Commitment," 55.
10. Adam Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts: The Origins and Impact of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement* (New York: Macmillan, 1995), 201.
11. Ann Curthoys, "'Shut Up, You Bourgeois Bitch': Sexual Identity and Political Action in the Anti-Vietnam War Movement."
12. Curthoys, "Anti-War Movements," 101–103.
13. Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, 265–98.
14. This is one of the central themes in Robin Gerster and Jan Bassett, *Seizures of Youth: "The Sixties" and Australia*.
15. Peter Cochrane, "At War at Home: Australian Attitudes During the Vietnam Years," 185.
16. Curthoys, "'Shut Up, You Bourgeois Bitch,'" 332–33.
17. Charlotte Clutterbuck, "Protests and Peace Marches: From Vietnam to Palm Sunday."

Chapter 4

1. David Caute, *Sixty-Eight: The Year of the Barricades* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988).
2. Michael Hyde, ed., *It is Right to Rebel*; Michael E. Hamel-Green, "The Resisters: A History of the Anti-Conscription Movement, 1964–1972."
3. Bob Buick with Gary McKay, *All Guts No Glory: The Story of a Long Tan Warrior*. See also the selected bibliography in this volume.
4. Gerster and Bassett, *Seizures of Youth*, 1.
5. Frank Crowley, *Tough Times* (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1986).
6. Geoffrey Dutton, ed., *Australia's Censorship Crisis* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1970).
7. Roberto Rabel, "The Vietnam Antiwar Movement in New Zealand" (unpublished paper in the author's possession).
8. Patricia Dobrez, *Michael Dransfield's Lives: A Sixties Biography* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 1999).
9. Brian Kiernan, "Perceptions 1915–1965," in *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia*, ed. Laurie Hargrehan (Ringwood: Penguin, 1988).
10. Donald Horne, "Introduction," in Michael Boddy and Robert Ellis, *The Legend of King O'Malley* (Sydney: Currency Press, 1974).
11. Jack Hibberd, *Three Popular Plays* (Melbourne: Outback Press, 1976), 5.
12. Peter Pierce, "Revaluing Australian Legends: Some Plays by Jack Hibberd," *Australian Literary Studies* 8, no. 3 (May, 1978).
13. Kiernan, "Perceptions 1915–1965."
14. This material is drawn from an unpublished article by David Nadel.
15. In 2000–2001, "Khe Sanh" is one of the chosen "battle" songs of the Australian cricket team apparently sung in dressing rooms after victories.
16. Thomas Pynchon, *Vineland* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1990).
17. Alan Gould, *The Enduring Disguises*.

Chapter 5

1. See, among numerous others, Gary McKay, *Vietnam Fragments: An Oral History of Australians at War*; Greg Langley, *A Decade of Dissent: Vietnam and the Conflict on the Australian Home Front*; Glen D. Edwards, *Vietnam: The War Within: Australian, American, New Zealand*; Barry Dickins, *Ordinary Heroes: Personal Recollections of Australians at War*; Stuart Rintoul, ed., *Ashes of Vietnam: Australian Voices*; Brian

- Hennessy, *The Sharp End: The Trauma of a War in Vietnam*; Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994).
2. For a more substantial discussion of the newer types of "history" with special regard to film, see Robert A. Rosenstone, *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995). For a wider scope, see Jeff Doyle, "The New (Film) Histories," in *Our Selection On: Writings on Cinemas' Histories*, ed. Jeff Doyle et al. (Canberra: National Film and Sound Archive/ADFA, 1998), 3–20.
 3. For examples, see Jane Ross, "The Myth of the Digger in Australian Society"; and Jeff Doyle, "Bringing Whose War Home? Vietnam and American Myths in Australian Popular Culture."
 4. See chap. 4 in this volume.
 5. But see Seymour M. Hersh, *Against All Enemies: Gulf War Syndrome: The War Between America's Ailing Veterans and Their Government* (New York: Ballantine, 1998).
 6. For more detail on the history of the VVAA, see Jane Ross, "Veterans in Australia: The Search for Integration," *Vietnam Generation* 3, no. 2 (1991): 50–73; Ambrose Crowe, *The Battle after the War: The Story of Australia's Vietnam Veterans*; Stephen Garton, *The Cost of War: Australians Return*.
 7. See Ross, "Veterans in Australia," 50–73.
 8. Ibid.
 9. From December, 2000, to early 2001, major exhibitions at the Australian War Memorial and at the Australian National Gallery, both in Canberra, were devoted to Federation celebrations. The AWM focused on the way the imagery and history of the digger helped define the Australian identity and "forge" (one of the key terms) the reality of Federation. The more wide-ranging exhibition at the National Gallery provided many images of the bushmen and the digger as "icons" (a buzzword for representational markers) of national identity.
 10. As recently as September, 1999, six veterans were "belatedly" awarded medals for gallantry after years of lobbying (*Canberra Times*, 2 Sept. 1999, 5).
 11. Keith Beattie, *The Scar That Binds: American Culture and the Vietnam War* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).
 12. For more detail on this section, see Ross, "Australia's Legacy," 199–204; John Dux and P. J. Young, *Agent Orange: The Bitter Harvest* (Hodder and Stoughton, Sydney, 1980); and Crowe, *The Battle after the War*.
 13. *Royal Commission on the Use and Effects of Chemical Agents on Australian Personnel in Vietnam*, vol. 8, 38.
 14. Ibid., vol. 4, 399.
 15. Ross, "Veterans in Australia."
 16. *Australian*, 12–13 May 1990.
 17. For a comprehensive study of the Repatriation system, see Clem Lloyd and Jacqui Rees, *The Last Shilling: A History of Repatriation in Australia*. Additional details specific to Vietnam veterans can be found in Ross, "Veterans in Australia," and "Australia's Legacy." A brief summary is given by one of the then commissioners, Maj. Gen. A. L. Morrison, "Repatriation," in *The Shock of Battle*, ed. Harry Heseltine, Occasional Papers 16 (Canberra: University College [ADFA], 1988), 117–22. In "Veterans in Australia," Ross notes that "the Repatriation System was established in Australia during the First World War. In fact, the commonly used term "Repat" is misleading, as the series of legislative acts are more concerned with social security than with the return of soldiers to their home country. "Repat" includes disability and service pensions, health services, home loans, workforce retraining, etc. The system has undergone changes over the years, and was most recently revamped in 1986 when the various acts were consolidated into the *Veterans Entitlement Act*. The Department of Veterans Af-

- fairs (DVA) administers the system. At times, the DVA has been accused of being unsympathetic and obstructionist toward veterans, which is not surprising given that the DVA and veterans are frequently in an adversarial situation, with the veterans trying to show cause for the DVA to release funds, and the DVA guarding the public monies against what it sees as unfounded claims."
18. Administrative Appeals Tribunal, *Repatriation Commission v. Maree Smith* (1990), V 87/56.
 19. *Case Control Study of Congenital Abnormalities and Vietnam Service*.
 20. Australian Veterans Health Studies, *The Mortality Report*, pt. 1, *A Retrospective Cohort Study of Mortality Among Australian National Servicemen of the Vietnam Conflict Era, and an Executive Summary of the Mortality Report*.
 21. The Royal Commission version of PTSD included the following symptoms: flashbacks to terrifying events, nightmares, irritability, rage reaction, dizzy spells, anxiety, insomnia, depression, guilt feelings, headaches, low back pain, ulcer, migraine, irritable bowel syndrome, irritable colon, hypertension, paranoia, suspicion, crowd phobia, and alcoholism (*Royal Commission*, vol. 8, 23–24). See also Jeffrey Streimer and Christopher Tennant, "Psychiatric Aspects of the Vietnam War," 230–61.
 22. For more detail on this section, see Ross, "Australia's Legacy."
 23. *Australian*, 10–11 Oct. 1987.
 24. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 1987.
 25. A thirty-minute documentary, *The Last March*, produced by Martyn Goddard et al., was broadcast by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation in 1988. For more comments on this documentary, see Doyle, "Bringing Whose War Home?" 97–141.
 26. For another discussion of the dislocation of Australia in Vietnam that specifically uses the concept of the "funny place," see Peter Pierce, "'The Funny Place': Australian Literature and the War in Vietnam," in *Vietnam Generation* 3, no. 2 (1991): 98–108.
 27. Peter Pierce charts similar patterns in his discussion of American literary influences in chapter 7 of this volume.
 28. See Tom O'Regan, "The Enchantment with Cinema: Film in the 1980s," in *The Australian Screen*, ed. Albert Moran and Tom O'Regan (Ringwood: Penguin, 1989), 118–45.
 29. It is worth noting the collateral evidence of Australian reaction to Vietnamese and other Asian refugees as detailed in James Coughlan, "International Factors Influencing Australian Governments' Responses to the Indochinese Refugee Problem," *Vietnam Generation* 3, no. 2 (1991): 84–97.
 30. For a more complete history and analysis of the design and building of the Australian Vietnam Forces National Memorial, see chapter 8 in this volume.
 31. The exhibition began as a Web site for the Australian Art of the Vietnam Experience virtual gallery, a project directed by Jeff Doyle designed to collect any and all images of the Australian involvement in Vietnam and its aftermath in virtual space, and where feasible as actual art, in order to halt the loss of this material. See: <http://idun.itsc.adfa.edu.au/SOE/VIETNAM/vietnam.htm>.
 32. Following the publication of *Vietnam Days* in 1990, I was confronted personally at a seminar by, among others, Graham Walker, one of the chief archivists and writers of VVAA (internal) history. Fundamentally, I was challenged to "put up or shut up" about how "our" book had presented the veterans' case. (The author of the chapter that caused greatest offense in this regard, Jeffrey Grey, was also challenged by the VVAA in the letters pages of the *Bulletin*. He explained that he was engaged in history, not advocacy.) I accepted the challenge and spent some time at the VVAA Granville Branch with Tim McCombe, then serving as president of the New South Wales Branch. I have been given copies of almost

all the submissions, and have had access to much VVAA documentation and scientific papers on Agent Orange. My own position, I maintain, has always been one of sympathy, tempered by a “professional distance.”

33. See Garton, *Cost of War*. See also, Pierce et al., eds., *Vietnam Days*, passim.
34. F. B. Smith, “Agent Orange: The Australian Aftermath,” in Brendan O’Keefe and F. B. Smith, *Medicine at War: Medical Aspects of Australia’s Involvement in South-east Asian Conflicts, 1950–1972*, 283–363.
35. Crowe, *Battle after the War*.

Chapter 6

1. Douglas Pike, “Vietnam: Thinking About It Today,” *Asia Record*, Feb., 1982, 2–7.
2. Bill Gammage, *The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974 and subsequent editions); Patsy Adam-Smith, *The Anzacs* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1984 and subsequent editions).
3. See especially Gerald R. Stone, *War Without Honour*; and Ian Mackay, *Australians in Vietnam*.
4. (R. G. Neale), “Australia’s Military Commitment to Vietnam” (paper tabled in the H of R, 13 May 1975). Professor Neale was director-general of the Australian Archives at the time.
5. Evan Whitton, “The Final Decision: A Battalion Instead of Instructors,” *National Times*, 28 Apr., and 5 and 12 May 1975. See also “The Role Menzies Played in Vietnam,” *National Times*, 22 May 1978. The latter was essentially a rehash of the earlier material, published after the death that year of Robert Menzies, the prime minister who led Australia into the war.
6. Michael Sexton, *War for the Asking: Australia’s Vietnam Secrets*.
7. Peter King, ed., *Australia’s Vietnam: Australia and the Second Indochina War*.
8. The best example is Lloyd Robson at Melbourne University, whose *The First AIF: A Study of its Recruitment 1914–1918* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1970) was a direct consequence of Robson’s antiwar activism.
9. Barry York, *Student Revolt: La Trobe University 1967–73* (Canberra: Nicholas Press, 1989), and “Police, Students and Dissent: Melbourne, 1966–1972,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 14 (May, 1984): 58–76; Hamel-Green, “The Resisters,” 10–28; Kenneth Maddock, “Opposing the War in Vietnam—the Australian Experience,” 137–49; Clutterbuck, “Protests and Peace Marches,” 135–47; Ann Curthoys, “Mobilising Dissent: The Later Stages of Protest,” 138–63. Summy, York, and Hamel-Green also wrote doctoral dissertations on Vietnam protest.
10. Malcolm Saunders, “The ALP’s Response to the Anti-Vietnam War Movement: 1965–73,” *Labour History* 44 (May, 1983): 75–91; “‘Law and Order’ and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, 1965–72,” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 28, no. 3 (1982): 367–79; “The Trade Unions in Australia and Opposition to Vietnam and Conscription,” *Labour History* 43 (1982): 64–82; “Australia’s Withdrawal from Vietnam: The Influence of the Peace Movement,” *Social Alternatives* 1, nos. 6–7 (1980): 56–62; and “Opposition to the Vietnam War in South Australia, 1965–73,” *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 10 (1982): 61–71. Saunders also wrote a masters thesis on antiwar activism.
11. Cochrane, “At War at Home,” 165–85; Gerster and Bassett, *Seizures of Youth*.
12. Langley, *Decade of Dissent*, xi.
13. But see Sue Langford, “The National Service Scheme, 1964–1972,” appendix in Edwards, *Nation at War*, 355–80.
14. Gregory Pemberton, *All the Way: Australia’s Road to Vietnam*; Glen St. J. Barclay, *A Very Small Insurance Policy: The Politics of Australian Involvement in Vietnam 1954–1967*.
15. Lex McAulay, *The Battle of Long Tan: The Legend of Anzac Upheld; The Battle of Coral: Fire Support Bases Coral and Balmoral, May 1968; Contact: Australians in Vietnam*;

- and *The Fighting First: Combat Operations in Vietnam, 1968–69: The First Battalion, The Royal Australian Regiment*; Bob Breen, *First to Fight: Australian Diggers, NZ Kiwis and US Paratroopers in Vietnam, 1965–66*; Terry Burstall, *The Soldiers' Story. The Battle of Xa Long Tan, Vietnam, 18 August 1966*; Gary Mackay, *In Good Company: One Man's War in Vietnam*; *Delta Four: Australian Riflemen in Vietnam*; and *Vietnam Fragments*; Barry Petersen with John Cribben, *Tiger Men: An Australian Soldier's Secret War in Vietnam*; John Shaddock Gibson, *Foxhound: Australian Infantry on Operations South Vietnam, 1967–68*.
16. O'Neill, *Vietnam Task*; Michael O'Brien, *Regulars and Conscripts: With the Seventh Battalion in Vietnam*.
 17. Frost, *Australia's War in Vietnam*; Frost, "Conflict and Withdrawal"; Lockhart, "Into Battle."
 18. Ian McNeill, "The Australian Army and the Vietnam War," 11–61.
 19. David M. Horner, *Duty First: The Royal Australian Regiment in Peace and War*, chaps. 9–11; *SAS, Phantoms of the Jungle: A History of the Special Air Service*, chaps. 11–21; and *The Gunners: A History of Australian Artillery*, chap. 20. Of note as well is his *Australian Higher Command in the Vietnam War*.
 20. McNeill, *The Team*.
 21. Richard Bushby, *Educating an Army: Australian Army Doctrinal Development and the Operational Experience in South Vietnam, 1965–1972*.
 22. C. E. W. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918*, 12 vols. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1921–42); Gavin Long, *Australia in the War of 1939–1945*, 22 vols. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1951–77); Robert J. O'Neill, *Australia in the Korean War, 1950–1953*, 2 vols. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial and Australian Government Publishing Service, 1981, 1985).
 23. Peter Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*, and *Nation at War*.
 24. Ian McNeill, *To Long Tan: Ground Combat Operations in Vietnam, 1962–66*; Coulthard-Clark, *RAAF in Vietnam*; Grey, *Up Top*. The medical history also treats Australian military medicine in three conflicts. See Brendan O'Keefe with F. B. Smith, *Medicine at War: Medical Aspects of Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts, 1950–1972*.
 25. Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey, *Emergency and Confrontation: Australian Military Operations in Malaya and Borneo, 1950–1966*.
 26. McNeill's second and the final series volume has been delayed by that author's sudden and premature death. It will be published by Allen and Unwin of Sydney as Ian McNeill, *A Province for a Battlefield: The Australian Army in the Vietnam War, 1967–72*.
 27. John Murphy, *Harvest of Fear: A History of Australia's Vietnam War*.
 28. Note that historically Australian usage has been to refer to such people as "returned servicemen" or servicewomen, or simply as "returned men." The Americanism "veteran" only came into popular usage after Vietnam.
 29. The best example is Rintoul, ed., *Ashes of Vietnam*. See also Martin Cameron, *Australia's Longest War*, a book that is almost impossible to categorize.
 30. Terry Burstall, *A Soldier Returns: A Long Tan Veteran Discovers the Other Side of Vietnam*, is a "therapeutic" book that evinces some serious flaws when it attempts to relate individual experience to wider issues. Kenneth Maddock, ed., *Memories of Vietnam*, is equally confused in relating cause and effect.
 31. John J. Coe, ed., *Desperate Praise: The Australians in Vietnam*. Gary Mackay's participant-histories, with their robust assertion of what might be characterized as traditional soldierly values, have found a ready market in the 1990s.
 32. Ross, "Australia's Legacy," 186–213, and "Veterans in Australia," 50–73; Jeffrey Grey, "Anzac, Vietnam, and the Veteran," 63–96. The latter attracted a hostile response from the national executive of the VVAA. See "Flak," *Bulletin*, 20 Aug.

- 1991, 9–10, and reply, *ibid.*, 15 Oct. 1991, 15. On the other hand, a number of Vietnam veterans told me that they thought the VVAA's stance in general was "too self-pitying" and essentially counterproductive.
33. Rodney Tiffen, "News Coverage of Vietnam"; Lyn Gorman, "Television and War: Australia's Four Corners Program and Vietnam, 1963–1975," *War & Society* 15, no. 1 (May, 1997). Gorman points out that analysis of Australian television for content and balance in this period is made more difficult, where not impossible, by the widespread habit of reusing expensive commercial videotape on which programs were initially recorded for broadcast.
 34. K. S. Inglis, *This is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1932–1983*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983.
 35. An exception to this, one that involves a comparison with the Canadian public broadcaster, CBC, is Neville Petersen, "The Coverage of the Vietnam War in an Organisational Context: The ABC and CBC Experience," *Australian-Canadian Studies* 16, no. 2 (1998): 33–47.
 36. Clyde Cameron, *The Cameron Diaries* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990), 801. The remark reflected a popular belief in the Australian Labor Party that postwar migrants from the Baltic states had voted against Labor because of the anticommunism engendered by Soviet occupation of their homelands. For reasons never adequately explained, Whitlam's government extended official recognition of the Soviet incorporation of these countries in July, 1974, which largely confirmed that antagonism. Cameron was the minister for industrial relations.
 37. Nancy Viviani, *The Long Journey: Vietnamese Migration and Settlement in Australia; The Indochinese in Australia, 1975–1995: From Burnt Boats to Barbecues*; and "After the War was Over: Vietnamese in Australia," 215–31; Coughlan, "International Factors," 84–97.
 38. Roberto Rabel, "'The Most Dovish of the Hawks': New Zealand Alliance Politics and the Vietnam War."
 39. David McCraw, "Reluctant Ally: New Zealand's Entry into the Vietnam War," *New Zealand Journal of History* 15, no. 1 (1981): 49–60; and "The Demanding Alliance: New Zealand and the Escalation of the Vietnam War," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 34, no. 3, 1989: 308–19; Ministry of Defence, *The New Zealand Army in Vietnam, 1964–1972* (Wellington: New Zealand Army, 1973); S. D. Newman, *Vietnam Gunners: 161 Battery RNZA, South Vietnam, 1965–71*.
 40. Gary R. Brooker, *Two Lanyards in Vietnam*; Deborah Challinor, *Grey Ghosts: New Zealand Vietnam Vets Talk About Their War*; Michael Subritzky, *The Vietnam Scrapbook: The Second ANZAC Adventure*; Ian Macfarling, "New Zealand and the Vietnam Conflict," [Australian] *Defence Force Journal* 79 (Nov.-Dec., 1989): 8–19; Keith Sinclair, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Chapter 7

1. John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976), 62.
2. Frank Moorhouse, *The Americans, Baby* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1972), 58.
3. "David Alexander" [Lex McAulay], *When the Buffalo Fight*.
4. Robert Ludlum, *The Bourne Ultimatum* (London: Grafton, 1990), 121.
5. John Rowe, *Count Your Dead*.
6. *Ibid.*, 99, 105, 108, 112, 113.
7. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 312.
8. C. D. B. Bryan, "Barely Suppressed Scream," *Harper's*, June, 1984, 68.
9. David Morrell, *First Blood* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1972); Robert Stone, *Dog Soldiers* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1975); Newton Thornburg, *Cutter and*

- Bone* (London: Heinemann, 1976); James Webb, *Fields of Fire* (London: Granada, 1976); Peter Straub, *Koko* (London: Penguin, 1988); Michael Connelly, *The Black Echo* (London: Orion, 1993).
10. David Williamson, *Jugglers Three*; C. J. Cairncross, *The Unforgiven*; Gabrielle Lord, *The Sharp End*.
 11. Michiko Kakutani, "Novelists and Vietnam: The War Goes On," *New York Times Review of Books*, 15 Apr. 1984, 8, 26, 39, 41.
 12. Michael Peterson, *A Time of War* (London: Mandarin, 1990); John M. Del Vecchio, *The 13th Valley* (New York: Bantam, 1982).
 13. Stephen Wright, *Meditations in Green* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983).
 14. Tim O'Brien, *Going After Cacciato* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1978).
 15. Jack Fuller, *Fragments* (New York: William Morrow, 1984).
 16. Michael Frazer, *Nasho*, 142.
 17. Graham Greene, *The Quiet American* (London: Heinemann, 1955).
 18. John Carroll, *Token Soldiers*, 142.
 19. Michael Herr, *Dispatches* (New York: Knopf, 1977).
 20. Del Vecchio, *13th Valley*.
 21. Stephen Phillip Smith, *American Boys* (New York: Avon Books, 1975), 345.
 22. Christopher Buonanno, *Beyond the Flag* (New York: Tower Publications, 1984).
 23. Pollard, *Cream Machine*, 77.
 24. Jeffrey Walsh, *American War Literature: 1914 to Vietnam* (London: Macmillan, 1982), 5.
 25. Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (New York: Scribners, 1929).
 26. A. D. Horne, ed., *The Wounded Generation: America After Vietnam* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1981), 163–64.
 27. Greene, *Quiet American*.
 28. James F. Mersmann, *Out of the Vietnam Vortex: A Study of Poets and Poetry Against the War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1974), 207, 210.
 29. Del Vecchio, *13th Valley*, 258, 510.
 30. Gustav Hasford, *The Short-Timers* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979).
 31. Frazer, *Nasho*, 258.
 32. Hasford, *Short-Timers*, 123, 154.
 33. Buonanno, *Beyond the Flag*, 152.
 34. Wright, *Meditations in Green*, 251.
 35. *Ibid.*, 176–77.
 36. Herr, *Dispatches*, 28, 58.
 37. James Tulip, "Poetry Since 1965," in *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia*, ed. Laurie Hargreaves (Melbourne: Penguin, 1988).
 38. Norman Bartlett, *Island Victory* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1955), "David Forrest" [David Denholm], *The Last Blue Sea* (London: Heinemann, 1959).
 39. Cook, *Wine of God's Anger*, 147.
 40. Thomas Keneally, *Passenger*.
 41. Shirley Cass, Michael Wilding et al., eds, *We Took Their Orders and Are Dead*.
 42. Mersmann, *Out of the Vietnam Vortex*, 225.
 43. Frazer, *Nasho*, 186.
 44. Peter Bourne, *Men, Stress, and Vietnam*, 170.
 45. *San Francisco Examiner*, 9 Apr. 1968.

46. John Hellmann, *American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).
47. Tim O'Brien, "How to Tell a True War Story," in *The Things They Carried* (London: Collins, 1990).
48. Joseph Heller, *Catch-22* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961).
49. James Webb, *A Country Such as This* (London: Grafton, 1983).
50. Mark Baker, *'Nam* (New York: William Morrow, 1981).
51. Hugh Lunn, *Vietnam: A Reporter's War*, 35, 53.
52. Hugh Atkinson, *The Most Savage Animal*, 84.
53. Robert Riggan, *Free Fire Zone* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984).
54. Buonanno, *Beyond the Flag*, 5, 11.
55. Wright, *Meditations in Green*, 193.
56. Robert Gray, *Collected Poems* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1990).
57. Bruce Dawe, *Condolences of the Season*.
58. Robert Olen Butler, *A Good Scent From a Strange Mountain* (New York: Henry Holt, 1992).
59. See, for example, Don Pendleton, *Dirty War* (Toronto and New York: Worldwide, 1985); Eric Helm, *Tet* (Toronto and New York: Worldwide, 1988); Dennis K. Philburn, *Freedom Bird* (New York: Tom Doherty, 1987); Peter Corris, *The Vietnam Volunteer* (Lismore: Southern Cross University Press, 2000).

Chapter 8

I was granted access to the documents, sketches, and architectural design briefs by a number of interested parties whose willingness and aid I gratefully acknowledge: Ken Unsworth, AM; Peter Tonkin and other members of the firm Tonkin Zulaikha Harford; Brigadier Colin Kahn, DSO, and Andrew Baird of the NCPA; and Peter Poulton of the AVFNMCM.

1. For thoroughly researched documentation of the earlier welcome home marches see Ross, "Australia's Legacy," 187–213, and "Veterans in Australia," 50–73. Stuart Rintoul's collection of interviews, *Ashes of Vietnam*, offers almost totally negative responses to the Vietnam War and includes several accounts of the after-midnight drop. More recently, Kenneth Maddock's collection, *Memories of Vietnam*, 134–35, offers an account by Neil Matthews of an early welcome home march in Adelaide for the 9th Battalion, RAR, which toured in 1968–69, and which, while it acknowledges a "new" memory of some of the events, still maintains the difficulty of readjustment as the primary focus of the homecoming experience.
2. This information is derived from *The Wall: Images and Offerings from the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial* (New York: Collins, 1987), and Lydia Fish, *The Last Firebase: A Guide to the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial* (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane, 1987).
3. See Jan C. Scruggs and Joel C. Swerdlow, *To Heal a Nation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), and Rick Atkinson, *The Long Gray Line: West Point's Class of 1966* (London: Collins, 1990), chap. 17, "Walls," 449–80.
4. "America Remembers," *National Geographic*, May, 1985, 577. Most of the studies of the Wall quoting Lin use as their primary source the "Winning Designer's Statement," reproduced by the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial Fund, Incorporated. See, for example, R. Campbell, "An Emotive Place Apart," *American Institute of Architects Journal* 72 (May, 1983): 151.
5. Fredrick Hart, "Statement Read to U.S. Commission of Fine Arts," 20 Oct. 1982, as quoted in Fish, *Last Firebase*, 13.
6. See, for example, the photographs by Sal Lopes and others in *The Wall*.

7. *National Memorial to the Australian Vietnam Forces: Conditions for a Two-Stage Design Competition* (Canberra: National Capital Planning Authority, 1989), 16.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 16–17.
10. Ibid., 17.
11. Ibid., 19.
12. Ibid., 21.
13. Ibid., 22.
14. “Fuzzy wuzzy” refers to the natives of Papua New Guinea, whose coarse wiry hair explains, if forgivably for its time, the not-so-submerged racism, while their merciful actions in helping wounded Australians back to medical camps is legendary and earned them the appellation “angel.” The most famous image of the Kokoda Trail campaign is of a blinded digger being supported by such a man.
15. These comments were made to the author in a series of interviews conducted in July and August, 1991, at Unsworth’s studios in Sydney.
16. For a brief skirmish with some of the more colorful and, one might observe, more quotable language of the war as it appears in the literary and cinematic products of Australia, see Pierce, Grey, and Doyle, eds., *Vietnam Days*, especially chapters 3, 5, and 6.
17. Although the implications and use I make of it are my own, much of this section is a summary of the reading of the Washington Vietnam Memorial in its context provided by C. L. Griswold in “The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington Mall: Philosophical Thoughts on Political Iconography,” *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 4 (summer, 1986): 688–719.
18. Ibid., 713.

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A Note on Archives and Archival Practices in Australia

All records generated by the Australian federal government are subject to the *Archives Act* (1983), which provides for material to be made accessible to the public thirty years after its creation—the so-called thirty-year rule. Australia also possesses a *Freedom of Information Act* (1982), but unlike in the United States, the provisions of this legislation do not cover records generated before its enactment.

As a result, records relating to Australia's war effort remain partially closed to public researchers. The official historian of Australia's involvement in South-east Asian conflicts, Peter Edwards and his staff, had full and unhindered access to all such material for the writing of the history, but nonofficial historians are generally constricted in their access by the relevant legislation. Exceptions are made by individual departments concerning their own records, but this is on a case-by-case basis and cannot be assumed.

The one significant exception to this state of affairs involves material used in evidence before the Evatt Royal Commission on the use of herbicides, pesticides, and other chemicals by the Australian Army. These records, all of which are operational in nature, were released for public access in 1982, and are located at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra in a temporary record series, AWM 181. This series comprises some one hundred shelf feet of documents and contains important operational records generated by Headquarters, 1st Australian Task Force; MACV combined campaign plans for 1966–72; intelligence summaries and some unit records; as well as some administrative files. The unifying principle lies in the observation that all this material contains references to the use of chemical agents in Phuoc Tuy Province. The main series of operational records, some sixteen hundred shelf feet of material, is contained in AWM 95 and is subject to the thirty-year rule. This is the case for all other Australian government records relating to Australia's Vietnam War, such as those generated by the Departments of External Affairs or Labour and National Service. Helen Creagh has compiled a lengthy, unpublished guide to the series titled "Search and Research: Operation Mitchell: Information collected in the search to compile the Report on the Use of Herbicides and Insecticides and other chemicals by the Australian Army in South Vietnam," which can be found in *Archives and Manuscripts* 11 (May, 1983): 7–13. The materials in AWM 181 are gradually being folded back into the AWM 95 series as the passage of the thirty-year rule renders the exempt material open to public access.

Private records and those created by nongovernment agencies are subject to no such restrictions, although private embargoes or normal copyright rules may apply. There are important collections relating to the various antiwar and anticonscription movements held in state and university libraries throughout Australia. For example, the records of the Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, a pressure group formed in 1967 and based in the state of South Australia, are held in the State Library of South Australia in Adelaide, the state capital, as Record Group 124. They occupy nearly thirty shelf feet. Most states spawned a branch of the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign, formed in 1970, and these records are held in the State Library in South Australia's case, and in the University of Melbourne Library in the case of the state of Victoria.

The National Library of Australia in Canberra holds a number of important collections of anti-Vietnam War material. Prominent among these are the records of the Save Our Sons group (MS 3821), the Vietnam Moratorium Committee (MS 4969), and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (MS 7755). The papers of significant individuals in the protest movements are often valuable sources of material. At the National Library, to give but two examples, the papers of Ian Turner (MS 6206), a radical Melbourne academic, contain three boxes of anti-Vietnam War records, while the collection donated by Andrew Reeves (MS 8076) concentrates particularly on student radicalism and antiwar agitation. A further source of antiwar material is to be found in trade union records, many of which are held by the Noel Butlin Archive of Business and Labour based at the Australian National University in Canberra.

Private groups that supported government policy in Vietnam are much less well documented. Perhaps the principal organization with relevant papers in the public domain is the Returned and Services League (RSL), which is the equivalent of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The records of its federal body likewise are held by the National Library (MS 6609).

There are considerable, though as yet relatively untapped, U.S. sources for the Australian participation in the Vietnam War. Among them are the Records of the United States Military Assistance Command Vietnam, Free World Military Assistance Forces, Command Reporting Files (Record Group 319 at the National Archives in Washington D.C.), and the Command History United States Military Assistance Command Vietnam (Record Group 472 in the National Archives in Washington, D.C.). There are undoubtedly more references scattered through other U.S. repositories, but it is difficult to identify many of these without working through large quantities of records on a file-by-file basis.

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Cinematic and Radio/Television Productions

For Australia, Vietnam was by no means the media war it is commonly held to have been (and seemingly remains) for the United States, but there was a moderate and, as the war progressed, increasing, electronic media response. Little of this had been touched on in any detail, nor listed in any comprehensive manner, until the work of Ann-Mari Jordens in a paper delivered at the 1987 Macquarie University Conference. It would, however, be impossible to list every reference to Vietnam made by the television or radio media during the war and subsequently, as it came to feature weekly, if not nightly, in the various network news and current affairs programs. In the case of the numerous short films made by the commonwealth and state bodies, a number of these may exist in variant prints. Occasionally, differing dating and production details appear within the catalogues. In addition, scenes from some of the earlier films reappear as if contemporary in later films, and have often been edited for use within other commercial current affairs material—again without noting their “file footage” status. The list given below is therefore even more selective and imperfect than the term “select bibliography” might imply.

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In addition, single episodes of various serial (or soap opera) dramas and situation comedies have been devoted to Vietnam and/or Vietnam veterans. These include: *A Country Practice*, 1989; *Col'n Carpenter*, 1990; *The Flying Doctor*, 1990; and *Winners*, 1985. Occasional "sketches" in television comedy programs have depicted Vietnam film stereotypes (especially Ramboesque crazed killers). These include: *The Comedy Company*, 1990; *Let the Blood Run Free*, 1990; and *The Big Gig: Tuesday Night Live*, 1989–90. See also Ann-Mari Jordens. "Cultural Influences: The Vietnam War and Australia," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 15 [October, 1989]: 3–14, and several entries for Jeff Doyle below.

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